COLVIN'S WEEKLY REGISTER.

NO. 11.] WASHINGTON CITY, MARCH 26, 1808. [VOL. 1.

TIMOTHY PICKERING'S LETTER.—If Providence had expressly interfered to confound the endeavors of the *New Men* who have arranged themselves in opposition to the government, in the profusion of his bounty to a virtuous administration he could not have selected a more effectual instrument for the purpose than Timothy Pickering. John Randolph, standing alone and claiming imperiously the title of a republican, might possibly find individuals in the community weak enough to listen to his charges and even some persons sufficiently credulous to believe them: But when Timothy Pickering steps forward as an auxiliary to his cause, apostacy at full length is exposed stark naked to the world, and ignorance itself must blush for having been the dupe of a flagrant demagogue.

By what public act of his life are the opinions of Mr. Pickering entitled to the respect or to the confidence of the people of this country? As a soldier he never enjoyed any other character than that of a disciplinarian; and in the cabinet he was disgraced by Mr. Adams, whom he treacherously injured. In his well known cowardice we may find an ample excuse for his antipathy to war; but we must look to a more criminal quality of an ignoble heart for a solution of his particular politics. He "defies the world to point, in the whole course of a long and public life, at one instance, at a single departure from truth;" but in this seemingly bold daring he runs no risk, for all the actions of his life have been so minutely contemptible, that if they were collected in one mass they would not make a pennyworth of decent biography: No one, therefore, has thought it worth their while to grope for particulars; and thus the immaculate senator, conscious of his own insignificance, intrepidly challenges detection, securely guarded by the impenetrable shield of obscurity. With much more justice he might have defied his countrymen to indicate a single magnanimous action, a solitary case where he has rendered eminent services to the republic. In order to enable us to decide clearly on his defiance, he should have published his moral and political creed; for we have lately seen, in the case of Don Thomas Power, (the friend and counsellor of the honorable John Randolph,) that perjury itself, in a political point of view, is not incompatible with the strictest moral veracity.

It is by no means difficult to perceive the secret views of the noble senator; for in truth he has managed the affair so awkwardly that he deludes no man but himself. He imagines that the effects of the embargo are so severe, that the people are prepared to revolt; and that a little excitement among them at this particular moment will effect a counter-revolution in politics, and bring the federalists once more into power. Experience is certainly lost upon some men, in whom years only add to the murkiness of a turbid intellect. If common sense had been suffered to inspect the letter of Mr. Pickering, she would have told him that he was insulting the citizens of the United States, by supposing them avaricious and factious enough to condemn the administration for an unavoidable act,

which the national honor and the general interests imperiously demanded.

The maxim has for some time been well understood in this country, that when the government is honest and vigilant the people are pledged by the constitution to support it. The principle on which the rule is founded is in itself so amiable that every true American heart must delight to cherish it; and any presumption that the community will discard it for a vindictive impulse is a notion destructive of all natural as well as moral relations—for a son might with the same propriety abandon a good father in the midst of insult, difficulty, and danger, and take part with his enemy, as a citizen relinquish his affection for a government that had been administered with clemency and integrity, when an insolent foe was pressing it in every direction.

The embargo is not a measure that, like an all-devouring excise, preys upon the vital industry of the nation; and from which, like the consumption, there is no relief but death: Neither does it operate like the sedition law, to the destruction of the living principle of freedom, by gagging the mouth and muzzling the press; nor like the alien act, that retarded the growth of population by unnecessary restrictions: These were laws which, at a moment of profound peace with Europe, made war upon the American people themselves. I admit that this mode of displaying the energies of legislation may be infinitely more agreeable to Mr. Pickering than an honorable resistance to foreign aggressions: But the Americans, who are equally brave and sagacious, will invariably decide with peculiar correctness, when public dignity and interest call upon them on the one hand and dishonor and submission to injuries beckon them on the other.

Mr. Pickering advises us that the papers communicated to congress, on which the embargo was bottomed, "exhibited *no new dangers*; *none*, of which our merchants had not been well apprized." This unfortunate admission is a death-stroke to the federal clamor of French dispatches of importance having been withheld by the president. If, in reality, they "exhibited no new dangers," for what purpose has the public mind been alarmed by the unequivocal declaration that they contained a dictatorial order from France? And if "our merchants and seamen (and, of course the people at large) were well apprised" of their contents, what possible necessity could there be for sending them to the press? This unhappy confession will assuredly startle Mr. Pickering's admirers when they come to reflect upon it; for it mars all the melody of opposition pipes, and will infallibly occasion the party's being hissed into the worst kind of disgrace. I had thought the honorable senator a more finished hypocrite; but I find that he is weaker than he is wicked; for with all the disposition in the world to propagate a falsehood, he has not ingenuity sufficient to support it with any degree of plausibility.

The objection concerning the correspondence between Messrs. Armstrong and Champagny, and the peevish charge of secrecy in that particular, is best answered by the president's message in this week's Register; so I will let that rest, perfectly satisfied with the appropriate insignificance to which the executive communication reduces the noble senator. When the sun shines upon a criminal,

it only exposes him more fully to view, and attracts particularly upon him the contempt, and even the pity of mankind.

Mr. Pickering asserts that the embargo appears to him "without a sufficient motive, without a legitimate object." If his mind were the standard of intelligence for the people of this country, there might be some degree of force in the declaration: But the honorable legislator is so completely under the tutelage of Dullness, so entirely divested of every quality that bears any alliance to sagacity, that we readily pardon his gross stupidity. Who, in fact, ever suspected him of penetration? He is an exalted man, I am told, in the tabernacles of the east; but has never exhibited any higher claim to the faculties of Solomon. or the virtues of the house of David, than that of singing psalms. He is a living evidence of the fact, that it is possible for a man to be a secretary of state and a senator in congress, without being either a Moses or a Joshua. At the period when a Pickering was first minister, a Wolcot at the head of the treasury, a M'Henry war secretary, and a Stoddert director of the navy, the public neither looked for forethought nor judgment from the cabinet. The cap and bells which had been decreed them at school, were no less merited when they had crept into the first offices of state. But from Jefferson and his counsellors the people expected a reach of thought that would anticipate the transactions of other nations, and a stretch of wisdom which should provide against the worst before it arrived. The conduct of European powers during the summer of the year 1807 clearly indicated to enlightened minds what would follow. Mr. Jefferson and his cabinet perceived in advance the coming storm, and by adopting timely measures of security prevented the property of our citizens being swept from the ocean. This was a flight beyond the ken of Mr. Pickering; who, following the natural bent of his intellect, was looking for a secret motive, a hidden cause, whilst every man of common sense at once recognized the public reasons for an instantaneous embargo.

From the same writer that denounces the embargo, we are led naturally to expect a vindication of the British doctrine of impressment. The man who is capable of attempting to distract the counsels of his own country at a moment of difficulty and danger is ready cut and dried for an English partizan; and Great Britain may now boast that she is no longer confined to her Randolph in the House of Representatives, but that she has her Pickering in the senate. What an association! *Æther and Lead*—a *bear* and a *butterfly*.

We are eternally to be reminded, it seems, that Great-Britain ought and must have her seamen, to fight her battles. This allegation has never been controverted by the American government; it has never been denied by a single republican writer that understands the question. We do not want British seamen; it is not for them we have been contending: But for *American* seamen; *bona fide* citizens of the United States. "She (Great Britain, says Mr. Pickering) desires to obtain only her own subjects; and the American citizens impressed by mistake are delivered upon duly authenticated proof." This "impressment by *mistake*," is the very evil we complain of. These "*mistakes*," have happened so often, that they look as much like *intentional acts* as any thing that ever I knew or heard of: And

even admitting them to be "*mistakes*," they have occurred so frequently and in such a variety of insulting forms that it becomes positively necessary to guard against their recurrence in the same way as if they were really done under authority of his Britannic majesty's order in council. But they are "delivered up on duly authenticated proof." That is, the British seize American citizens on suspicion, and then call upon the United States to identify them, before they will restore them; and this is what the noble senator calls "obtaining *her own* subjects." Upon what rule of right, reason, or precedent is this founded? In all civilized states the man who loses his property is obliged to prove the identity of it before he can reclaim it: But the British entirely reverse the rule of justice in this instance, and when they have lost a few deserters, they forcibly take the crews of American vessels in retaliation, wherever they can find them; and then, with exulting insolence, they exclaim, "come, prove your citizens and you may have them." Every body knows how the affair is managed: A British King's ship, or even a petty, despicable privateer with perhaps, but one gun, and some scoundrel to command her, meets on the high seas an American vessel, demands the protections of the men, tears them up, damns most cavalierly the whole government of the United States, seizes as many of the seamen as he wants, and bears them off. When complaint of the outrage is made, the British cry out; "come prove them." A notification is then issued in the American papers for the relations and friends of the impressed men to furnish evidence of the citizenship of the unfortunate and degraded mariners: A year, perhaps, elapses before any certain proof can be collected, and in the mean time the English are enjoying the services of our gallant sailors, who, before they can be officially claimed die of hard usage, or find a release from their oppressors by some friendly ball in battle on board of a British ship of war. Sometimes evidence cannot be procured at all. It is well known that this country is very deficient in any thing like a parish or other registry; so that frequently the birth-place, parentage, and citizenship of a man depends on straggling testimony, to gather which is attended with vast trouble and sometimes with insuperable difficulties.

Under what pretence does Great Britain throw the *onus probandi*, the burthen of proof, upon the United States? Her seamen desert her service: Well! let *her* furnish the proofs of their being her subjects. Is our justice more doubtful than her own? Let the history of the two nations tell. It is time to put the dispute on its true bottom; for it has been wrenched and distorted by knavery and ignorance clear off its proper basis. Our government is not contending for British seamen, nor for the right of detaining them when they run off from their sovereign; but for the security of our own citizens, who, whether on land or water, in a house on shore or in a vessel at sea, ought to be considered in their own castles, and whilst pursuing a legitimate traffic, are entitled to all the protection which government can possibly give them.

Mr. Pickering may wonder; and wonder again; at the "extreme sympathy for American seamen at Washington;" but I can assure him that "gentlemen from the interior states" feel as much for our seamen as they

wound for themselves. They are not governed by that contracted, nerveless policy, which is estimated by arithmetical calculation, and adopted or rejected exactly in proportion as it furnishes a handsome *per centum* or otherwise. God have mercy upon the veins of that heart which feels nothing for national honor unless the pocket is directly interested in the affair. To their exalted honor the gentlemen of the interior, the representatives of the agricultural part of the community, have advanced at this portentous season with a firm intrepid step, in vindication of the rights and in reprobation of the wrongs of the nation: Neither have republican merchants, and many federalists in that line, been wanting to their duty. None but the most determined enemies of the administration, partizans of G. Britain, exhibit a cold blooded malignity against the operations of government, which in profligacy and perfidiousness would bear a parrallel with the detestable spirit of the Old Man of the Mountains in Asia.

I do charge Mr. Pickering with the foulest untruths. He says "We may yet pursue our trade with the British dominions in every part of the globe, with Africa, with China, and with the colonies of France, Spain and Holland." How may we pursue it? If we go to England or her possessions, we can go no where else; and if we go any where else our vessels and cargoes are subjected to capture and condemnation. Such are the decrees of France and Great Britain. Yet we are told that we can trade to them all! Has Mr. Pickering forgot his Bible? He ought to have recollected the *fire* and *brimstone* that are promised in the other world to those who offend in a particular way here.

But he wants French dispatches, the letters from Paris! He has enough of them by this time. But what a despicable whine for a senator; an old man, too; who cut all his political teeth twenty years ago. I would ask him what he wants to learn? Is it Bonaparte's object? Napoleon never goes behind a hedge. He tells you he will humble Great Britain, and that if your ships trade there, they shall not only not sail into his ports, but that he will make prize of them. You may see it in his decrees of Berlin and Milan. What more is wanting to show the propriety of taking precautionary measures by laying an embargo? 'Ah!' says the noble senator 'but there is *a secret!* A *grand secret!* And your president has *locked it up*!' This is the cry. Now the thing comes out. Messrs. Armstrong and Champagny's letters are to be published; and yet I am told Mr. Pickering does not blush, although he knows that the publication of those letters will convict him before the world of a most treacherous calumny. The cheek of the senator is equal to the bull hides of Ajax; and the cuticle of his visage as impervious to the emotion of shame as the shield of Achilles to a Trojan spear.

He is indeed, a marvellous senator! He is a member of the executive council, and yet he is "*alarmed* at the perilous state of things." Here we have cowardice by confession in open court. According to Cato's logic, he is a traitor to his country. The old Roman, agreeably to Addison, tells us that *fear*, admitted into public bodies, *betrays like treason*. I will not dwell on the senator's insulting remarks relative to commercial information: But I can tell him that there are men in congress whose intelligence in that particular is exceed-

ed by no character in Europe; from Massachusetts, from N. York, from Maryland, and from other states, there are mercantile men, friendly to the administration, whose information in affairs of commerce is not only very superior to Mr. Pickering's; but which, in reality, he could not even understand if it were detailed to him. It is a notorious fact that Mr Adams dismissed the noble senator for his deplorable ignorance of the history and policy of other countries

Does Mr. Pickering want to know why Great Britain, "with her thousand ships of war" has not entirely cut up our trade? He will find an answer in another part of this sheet; an answer which demonstrates that G. Britain has been the gainer by our commerce; that in a commercial point of view we have been tributary to her; and that to whatever part of the world we have traded, we poured a great proportion of the profits into her lap. We have been profitable slaves to her; and like a shrewd W. India planter, she has not beat us quite to death, because she has not yet made the most of us.

But, in the name of Heaven, what kind of reasoning does the senator use! France has behaved amiss, and therefore Great Britain is innocent: The latter wants her seamen to fight her enemies, and therefore she has a right to seize American mariners by force and keep them till the United States prove they are not English subjects: The merchants of this country have been enterprizing, industrious, and successful, and therefore they ought to be satisfied with the vile conduct of Great Britain; and the forbearance of the British entirely to crush our trade is full evidence of their friendship. This is precisely Mr. Pickering's train of argument; and, well knowing the humanity exhibited to lunatics by the people of this country, boldly puts his name to it. If you will believe him, every thing that Great Britain has done is venial or justifiable: The batteries of his scandal are solely directed against the administration and against France, although France has not taken our seamen, violated our national jurisdiction, nor murderously fired into one of our ships of war.

I shall take notice of the pretended readiness of the British government to make reparation for the outrage on the Chesapeake under another head; and with regard to covering belligerent property with the American flag, a very intelligent exposition of the case will be found in this paper from the pen of a well informed and reflecting correspondent. I will close this article with a remark or two upon a point which Mr. Pickering has particularized twice. He says, in substance, that merchants ought to have been left to their own discretion in sending their vessels to sea or retaining them in port. We will suppose that to have been the case, and their vessels, as events have proved they would have been, had been captured; where would the merchants have looked for redress? On whose head would their curses have fallen? Would they not have addressed themselves to the American government, and have said, 'You were instituted for the purpose of administering the government for the common defence and the general welfare, but you have suffered us to pursue a traffic blindfolded: You might have secured us by an embargo; but you have not done so, and we have fallen the sacrifice. It is your duty now to pay us our losses, or to compel those who have

seized and sold our ships and car. goes, to do us justice.' Such would have been the case; and in all probability a war would have resulted infinitely sooner without an embargo than with it. Or does Mr. Pickering mean that government should have divested itself of all discretion, exposed every official record, letter, and anecdote, to the whole world, and thus relinquishing all control over public affairs, have shut up the cabinet, and left the people to find their way through surrounding difficulties as well as they could. Even the noble senator's former intimacy with the Indians might have taught him a better lesson. By the way, speaking of the Indians, it reminds me of Mr. Pickering's celebrated speech to one of the tribes, wherein he spoke as contemptibly of Great Britain as he now discourses highly of her. That speech was carefully preserved by the duke de Liancourt as a specimen of the speaker's hypocrisy. It had a famous flourish in it about France being a great, a magnanimous nation, and that she would knock the British in the head in the same way as Guy, earl of Warwick, served the mad bull. It is said the old sachems were mightily tickled with the oration at the time; and the noble senator congratulated himself greatly at having got the better of the Indians, setting the circumstance down in his diary as an infallible mark of his wisdom. I suppose, however, that his senatorial reverence has lost the memory of these things in his frequent visits to Mr. Rose whilst the latter remained here. I am respectably advised, that about the period of the date of Mr. Pickering's letter, he was in the habit of visiting the British envoy; and at one particular time was known to be with him for several hours together.

As a final remark, I will observe that the policy which Mr. Pickering condemns in his letter was sanctioned in its introductory stages by his vote in the senate: The journals of that body prove the fact.

N. B. I cannot finish these strictures, without advising the reader that Governor Sullivan, of Massachusetts, to whom Mr. P. very impertinently addressed his letter, returned it to him without reading it. I must also express my sorrow, that the letter has been so generally published in the newspapers, as the sale of it in a pamphlet might have been of some benefit to the author's economy; for at a cent a piece, (the thing I know would sell as a curiosity,) the honorable senator might have realized a handsome profit. As it is, he must only demand a higher price for those that he does sell. This plan, I perceive, is already pursued in Baltimore, where Mr. Wagner offers them wholesale and retail, "12 cents single, 1 dollar for 20, 2 dolls. for 50, and 3 dolls. 50 cents for 100," with "Timothy Pickering" in large italic capitals, by way of recommendation. If the letter in pamphlet form had the old gentleman's portrait, with the garniture of horns and tail, it would be such an interesting piece of human nature that I would really give sixpence for a copy myself.

For Colvin's Weekly Register.

In a nation like ours, where agriculture is the principal pursuit, and to which all others must ever be subordinate, it may be expected that a knowledge of the advantages and interests of commerce must be gradual. It is therefore not surprising that some of our most enlightened citizens, legis-

lators, and even statesmen, should have an imperfect idea of the subject, and at times betray an almost shameful ignorance on certain points wherein our best interests are at stake.

This evil would be more tolerable and less difficult of remedy, were it not unfortunately much increased by prejudice; and few of our politicians or statesmen of the present day appear to be capable of viewing our foreign relations, with which commerce is so intimately connected, and to which I may say they are confined, without feeling a bias towards one at least of the present belligerent powers of Europe.

Erroneous opinions entertained by private citizens on this or any other subject are seldom of much consequence. But when uttered on the floor of congress, and that too by persons supposed to have the confidence of the nation, they are believed abroad, and actually have produced the most baneful effects.

The subject to which I particularly allude, is the accusation brought against our merchants of carrying on the commerce of one belligerent, to the detriment of another—by which the British alledge that their enemies have their property brought to Europe from the colonies, at less expense and with less risk by our flag, than they, they British can bring their own; and urge as one proof of the allegation, that we have not ourselves a capital of our own sufficient to carry on so extensive a commerce. Although the mischief attending this error has been long observed and felt, I might perhaps have forborn any remarks of mine on the subject, and have left it as many others of a similar nature are left, to be decided on by the good sense of the people; but observing in the late address of Mr. Pickering to the governor of his state the same idea kept up, I can no longer refrain: It is true that I have had the same reason for animadverting on this conduct ever since Mr. John Randolph did, some sessions ago, on the floor of congress, when he appeared to have got tired of his popularity denounce our merchants and invoke the vengeance of Great Britain on their partial conduct. When two such men, one considered a flaming patriot, the other having filled some of the highest offices in the government, turn state's evidence (I had almost said king's evidence) in a case doubtful even with our enemies, it is high time to repel and refute their unfounded and shameful assertions.

Mr. Randolph was so well convinced of the criminality of his countrymen as to declare that unless the blood of Chatham was gone, Great Britain would strike! But he should have reflected that in England Pitt and plunder being synonimous terms, the blood can never be extinct.

Mr. Randolph was until then considered a patriot, a statesman, and the leading member of the majority in congress; and although his conduct was seen through and understood here at the time, it was not so abroad and therefore had the effect intended: It has encouraged the infatuated court of London to persevere in their impolitic measures towards us; and may most probably lead to a state of things which will make them as great objects of pity, as their apologists here will be of contempt.

It is most certain that in the year 1783, after having atchieved our independence, we were poor and helpless. We had nothing left but our soil and industry to create a capital—not only to subsist on but to dis-

charge a heavy debt: And the few succeeding years which intervened betwixt that period and the formation of our present constitution was not, under our then disjointed confederacy, calculated to obviate our difficulties. Immediately after the formation of our present more efficient form of government the revolution which took place in France threw open to our enterprizing citizens the richest field that ever tempted industry or avarice. At the commencement of it we were merely carriers: We certainly did not then possess capital to enable us to carry on so much trade on our own account; but so rapid were our profits that from the year 1790 to 1793 our exports increased from less than 16 to 26 millions of dollars.—Even at this period, when Great Britain declared war against France, much French property was introduced into the United States both from that nation and her colonies in the name of American merchants: But the violences which succeeded in France and their West India islands, soon destroyed the wealth of individuals, and in most instances the rich individuals themselves; few or none in either place had property to send or to spare; and if they had, our merchants then possessed capital sufficient to trade on their own account, and they certainly could not have calculated so badly as to cover French property for 5 per cent. when they could gain from 50 to 300 per cent. by carrying on the same trade for their own account. Such voyages were then frequently made, owing to the depreciation of colonial produce, and the scarcity of provisions, lumber, &c. &c. in the islands. So rapid was the increase of our wealth in consequence of this state of things, that our exports amounted in 1795 to 67 millions of dollars, having much more than doubled in the short space of three years. But as the foregoing plain statement of facts may not be sufficient to convince the two great statesmen already alluded to, that the trade we have been carrying on with the colonies of the belligerents ought not to have given umbrage to Great Britain, I will adduce proofs of this position from a source they both highly respect, and from which neither these gentlemen nor their adherents can possibly refuse their assent and concurrence: I mean a report of the committee of the imperial parliament of Great Britain, made to that body at their session in 1807, lately published in most of our newspapers. This committee had after many sittings on the subject of their West India colonies, collected all the information possible, and amongst much other interesting matter state in this report—

That in ordinary and peaceable times the average profits of the planters in the British West Indies are 10 per cent:

That since the year 1799 a progressive deterioration with the planters, and a diminution of the price of sugar, has taken place:

That since then their profits have lessened gradually in so much that they do at this moment cultivate their estates to a loss:

That their supplies of provisions, lumber, &c. have risen in many instances to 50, and in others above 100 per cent. and

That the charges from hostile colonies to Holland and Flanders are 8*s*. 11*d*. sterling per cwt. less than on British sugars, and 12*s*. 6*d*. per cwt. less to the Mediterranean.

From these premises the committee have drawn a most extraordinary conclusion; a conclusion which shews that they either did not under-

stand the subject, or that they wished to deceive the nation. But the conclusion which I draw from the document is this—that if the British colonies, enjoying the advantages of the greatest tonnage employed by any nation, and protected by the greatest navy in the world, "cultivate their estates to a loss," how is it possible that the colonies of nations totally destitute of these advantages can have funds to remit any where? The idea is absurd, and the assertion worse than ridiculous.

I therefore undertake to assert that for years past not a dollar's worth of West India or East India property has gone from these United States to either of the enemies of Great Britain for any but American citizens: And it now remains to be shewn how this trade, carried on fairly by us, has operated on both Great Britain and her enemies.

The great cry is that we are enriching the latter by carrying on the colonial trade of these nations by which we benefit them very much. But having proven, as I think I have, that this trade has been entirely for our own account, I will now proceed to demonstrate that Great Britain, next to ourselves, has been the nation benefitted thereby. The statement of exports for one year ending the 1st of October 1807, lately exhibited by the secretary of the treasury, states—

That we exported to Holland in that year to the amount of	$16,000,000
To France,	11,650,000
To Spain,	3,300,000
	$30,950,000

On which their respective governments received no doubt a considerble amount in duties, but which the people paid for as follows:

In ad valorem goods from France, about	$2,000,000
From Spain,	200,000
From Holland,	1,800,000
And in goods from all, paying a specific duty,	2,000,000
	$6,000,000

leaving a balance of about 25 millions of dollars taken from these in cash or bills of exchange. And pray what became of these twenty five millions of dollars? They went entirely to England! What will be the effects of the present measures of Great Britain on this trade? The French government and her allies will lose the duty on 31 millions of dollars, but the people have that sum to be applied to other purposes; perhaps to aid in an invasion of Great Britain; and I ask whether the people of G. Britain would not prefer receiving that amount in bills of exchange and paying us for the same in their manufactures?

This is precisely the effect of our present embargo as to these nations. France, Spain and Holland will have 25 millions of dollars to dispose of in something besides luxuries, and their governments are of a nature to procure money for any purpose they may think proper when their subjects are possessed of it.

Great Britain now finds that every branch of her commerce feels the effects of her incessant wars; but, unwilling to acknowledge the real cause of the complaints of her merchants and of her colonies, finds it most convenient to throw the blame on neutrals. When a nation expends annually more money than her whole exports amount to (I mean of her own produce and manufactures) how can

either the ship-holder or the colonist thrive? Taxes and imposts must be levied, and it is where money circulates most that it must be looked for; and what class of citizens are more exposed to the evil than these two? It will be impossible for that nation to quiet the complaints of either, so long as she remains at war; and when she shall have peace, she must change some of her systems and regulations respecting the West India colonies and her East India possessions, before all the evils complained of are remedied. What these remedies are it is not my province to point out: but so far as we are affected by her or by any other regulations, I may occasionally take the liberty of remarking, and of giving you trouble.

A.

His Britannic Majesty's Speech.—I have conceived it of considerable importance to lay before my readers immediately the following royal speech. It offers various points for serious and interesting commentary: But I cannot this week devote my attention to any other than that single expression, where the king says, "for an unauthorised act of force committed against an American ship of war he did not hesitate to offer immediate and spontaneous reparation." Such a declaration coming from the throne itself is calculated to carry with it the greatest weight: The same assertion has been made by Mr. Rose, by Mr. Pickering, and by the public writers in the newspapers of America and England. The people of this country have been impressed with the idea; and the fatal error is about to fasten itself forcibly and permanently on the minds of our citizens. It is time to arrest it. In my opinion (and I have read the correspondence between Messrs. Madison and Rose) there has not only been no reparation offered for the outrage on the Chesapeake, but Great Britain has refused to make reparation. I will not dwell upon *mere words*, whether they are delivered by kings or their ministers; but I appeal at once to facts with which this whole union is familiar; and I defy any man to point to any proffered reparation whatsoever. It was refused at the court of St. James: It was withheld by Mr. Rose here. After the president had consented to treat on the affair of the Chesapeake alone, insult was added to injury by a further demand for annulling the proclamation that forbids British ships of war our ports and harbors; a municipal regulation which, in point of safety and good order, this government has a right to enforce. I shall return to this subject in my succeeding number.

HIS MAJESTY's SPEECH.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Thursday, January 21.

At three o'clock, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, and Lords Dartmouth and Aylesford, took their seats immediately below the Throne, as Commissioners, and the Commons being soon after in attendance, the Lord Chancellor delivered the following Speech:—

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"We have received His Majesty's commands to assure you, that in calling you together at this important conjuncture of affairs, he entertains the most perfect conviction that he shall find in you the same determination with which his Majesty himself is animated, to uphold the honor of his Crown, and the just rights and interests of his people.

"We are commanded by his Majesty to inform you, that no sooner

had the result of the Negociations at Tilsit, confirmed the influence and control of France over the powers of the continent, than his Majesty was apprised of the intentions of the enemy to combine those powers into one general Confederacy, to be directed either to the entire subjugation of this Kingdom, or to the imposing upon his Majesty an insecure and ignominious peace.

"That for this purpose, it was determined to force into hostility against his Majesty, states which had hitherto been allowed by France to maintain or to purchase their neutrality; and to bring to bear against different points of his Majesty's dominions, the whole of the naval force of Europe, and specifically the fleets of Portugal and Denmark.

"To place those fleets out of the power of such a confederacy became therefore the indispensable duty of his Majesty.

"In the execution of this duty, so far as related to the Danish fleet, his Majesty has commanded us to assure you, that it was with the deepest reluctance that his Majesty found himself compelled, after his earnest endeavors to open a Negotiation with the Danish Government had failed, to authorize his commanders to resort to the extremity of force, but he has the greatest satisfaction in congratulating you upon the successful execution of this painful, but necessary service.

"We are further commanded to acquaint you that the course which his majesty had to pursue with respect to Portugal, was happily of a nature more congenial to his Majesty's feelings. The timely and unreserved communication by the Court of Lisbon of the demands and designs of France, while it confirmed to his majesty the authenticity of the advices which he had received from other quarters, entitled the Court to his majesty's confidence in the sincerity of the assurances by which that communication was accompanied.

"The fleet of Portugal was destined by France to be employed as an instrument of vengeance against Great-Britain. That fleet has been secured from the grasp of France, and is now employed in conveying to its American dominions the hopes and fortunes of the Portuguese Monarchy. His majesty implores the protection of Divine Providence upon that enterprize, rejoicing in the preservation of a power so long the Friend and Ally of Great Britain; and in the prospect of its establishment in the New World with augmented strength and splendor.

"We have it in command from his Majesty to inform you, that the determination of the enemy to excite hostilities between His Majesty and his late allies, the Emperors of Russia and Austria, and the King of Prussia, has been but too successful; and that the Ministers from these powers have demanded and received their passports.

"This measure on the part of Russia has been attempted to be justified by a statement of wrongs and grievances which have no real foundation. The Emperor of Russia had indeed proffered his Mediation between His Majesty and France. His Majesty did not refuse that Mediation, but he is confident you will feel the propriety of its not having been accepted until His Majesty should have been enabled to ascertain that Russia was in a condition to mediate impartially, and until the principles of the basis on which France was ready to negociate were made known to His Majesty.

"No pretence of justification has been alledged for the hostile conduct of the Emperor of Austria, or for that of his Prussian Majesty. His majesty has not given the slightest ground of complaint to either of those Sovereigns, nor even at the moment when they have respectively withdrawn their Ministers, have they assigned to His Majesty any distinct cause for that proceeding.

"His Majesty has directed that copies of the Correspondence between his Majesty's Ambassador and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Russia, during the Negociations at Tilsit and the Official Note of the Russian Minister at this Court containing the offer of His Imperial Majesty's Mediation between His Majesty and France, together with the Answer returned to that Note by His Majesty's command; and also copies of the official notes presented by the Austrian Minister at this Court, and of the answers which his Majesty commanded to be returned to them should be laid before you.

"It is with concern that his Majesty commands us to inform you, that notwithstanding his earnest wishes to terminate the war in which he is engaged with the Ottoman Porte, his majesty's endeavours unhappily for the Turkish empire, have been defeated by the machinations of France, not less the enemy of the Porte than of Great Britain.

"But while the influence of France has been thus unfortunately successful in preventing the termination of existing hostilities, and in exciting new war against this country, his majesty commands us to inform you that the King of Sweden has resisted every attempt to induce him to abandon his alliance with Great Britain; and that his majesty entertains no doubt that you will feel with him the sacredness of the duty which the firmness and fidelity of the King of Sweden impose upon his majesty; and that you will concur in enabling his majesty to discharge it in a manner worthy of this country.

"It remains for us, according to his majesty's command, to state to you that the treaty of commerce and amity between his majesty and the United States of America, which was concluded and signed by Commissioners duly authorised for that purpose, on the 31st of December, 1806, has not taken effect, in consequence of the refusal of the President of the United States to ratify that instrument.

"For an unauthorised act of force committed against an American ship of war, his majesty did not hesitate to offer immediate and spontaneous reparation. But an attempt has been made by the American Government to connect with the question which has arisen out of this act, pretensions inconsistent with the maritime rights of Great Britain; such pretensions his majesty is determined never to admit. His majesty, nevertheless, hopes that the American Government will be actuated by the same desire to preserve the relations of peace and friendship between the two countries which has ever influenced his majesty's conduct, and that any difficulties in the discussion now pending may be effectually removed.

"His majesty has commanded me to state to you that in consequence of the Decree by which France declared the whole of his majesty's dominions to be in a state of blockade, and subjected to seizure and confiscation the produce and manufactures of his kingdom, his majesty resorted, in the first instance, to a measure of mitigated retaliation; and that

this measure having proved ineffectual for its object, his majesty has since found it necessary to adopt others of greater vigor, which, he commands us to state to you, will require the aid of parliament to give them complete and effectual operation.

"His majesty has directed copies of the Orders, which he has issued with the advice of his Privy Council upon this subject to be laid before you, and he commands us to recommend them to your early attention.

"*Gentlemen of the House of Commons*,

"His majesty has directed the estimate for the ensuing year to be laid before you, in the fullest confidence that your loyalty and public spirit will induce you to make such provision for the public services as the urgency of affairs may require.

"His majesty has great satisfaction in informing you, that notwithstanding the difficulties which the enemy has endeavoured to impose upon the commerce of his subjects, and upon their intercourse with other nations, the resources of the country have continued in the last year to be so abundant, as to have produced, both from the permanent and temporary revenue, a receipt considerably larger than that of the preceding year.

"The satisfaction which his majesty feels assured you will derive, in common with his majesty, from this proof of the solidity of these resources cannot be but greatly increased if, as his majesty confidently hopes, it shall be found possible to raise the necessary supplies for the present year without any material addition to the public burdens.

"*My Lords and Gentlemen*,

"We are especially commanded to say to you, in the name of his majesty, that if ever there was a just and national war, it is that which his majesty is now compelled to prosecute. This war is in its principle, purely defensive. His majesty looks but to the attainment of a secure and honorable peace; but such a peace can only be negociated upon a footing of perfect equity.

"The eyes of Europe and of the world, are fixed upon the British Parliament.

"If as his Majesty confidently trusts, you display in this crisis of the fate of the country, the characteristic spirit of the British nation, and face unappalled, the unnatural combination which is gathering around us, his majesty bids us to assure you of his firm persuasion, that, under the blessing of Divine Providence, the struggle will prove successful and glorious to G. Britain.

"We are lastly commanded to assure you, that in this awful and momentous contest, you may rely on the firmness of his majesty, who has no cause but that of his people; and that his majesty reciprocally relies on the wisdom, the constancy, and the affectionate support of his Parliament."

THE NEGOCIATION.—The correspondence between our government and Mr. Rose terminated on Friday the 18th instant: On the Monday following he took leave of the president and proceeded on Tuesday to Alexandria, on his way to Norfolk, where the Statira is waiting to receive him. On the day of his departure the executive communicated to congress by the following message a volume of documents touching our foreign relations. They will receive regular and due attention in the Register. Mr. Rose's mission has been *vox et preterea nihil* from beginning to end: The sincerity of the British ministry has been rendered extremely doubtful by the conduct of their

envoy here: As lord Bolingbroke observes, *their autumnal promises have ended in vernal excuses*; and we remain at this moment precisely *in statu quo ante Rose.*

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States.

At the opening of the present session, I informed the legislature, that the measures which had been taken with the government of Great Britain for the settlement of our neutral and national rights, and of the conditions of commercial intercourse with that nation, had resulted in articles of a treaty, which could not be acceded to on our part; that instructions had consequently been sent to our ministers there, to resume the negociations, and to endeavor to obtain certain alterations, and that this was interrupted by the transaction which took place between the frigates Leopard and Chesapeake. The call on that government for reparation of this wrong produced, as Congress has been already informed, the mission of a special Minister to this country, and the occasion is now arrived, when the public interest permits and requires, that the whole of these proceedings should be made known to you.

I therefore now communicate the instructions given to our Minister resident at London, and his communications to that government, on the subject of the Chesapeake, with the correspondence which has taken place here between the Secretary of State and Mr. Rose, the special Minister charged with the adjustment of that difference; the instructions to our Ministers for the formation of a treaty; their correspondence with the British commissioners, and with their own government on that subject; the treaty itself and written declaration of the British Commissioners accompanying it; and the instructions given by us for resuming the negociation, with the proceedings and correspondence subsequent thereto. To these I have added a letter lately addressed to the Secretary of State from one of our late ministers, which though not strictly written in an official character, I think it my duty to communicate, in order that his views of the proposed treaty, and of its several articles, may be fairly presented and understood.

Although I have heretofore, and from time to time, made such communications to congress, as to keep them possessed of a general and just view of the proceedings and dispositions of the government of France towards this country, yet in our present critical situation, when we find that no conduct on our part, however impartial and friendly, has been sufficient to insure, from either belligerent, a just respect for our rights, I am desirous that nothing shall be omitted on my part, which may add to your information on this subject, or contribute to the correctness of the views which should be formed. The papers which for these reasons, I now lay before you, embrace all the communications, official or verbal, from the French government, respecting the general relations between the two countries, which have been transmitted through our minister there, or through any other accredited channel, since the last session of congress; to which time all information of the same kind had, from time to time, been given them. Some of these papers have already been submitted to congress; but it is thought better to offer them again in order that the chain of communications, of which they make a part, may be presented unbroken.

When, on the 26th of February, I communicated to both houses the let-

ter of Gen. Armstrong to M. Champagny, I desired it might not be published, because of the tendency of that practice to restrain injuriously the freedom of our foreign correspondence. But perceiving that this caution, proceeding purely from a regard to the public good, has furnished occasion for disseminating unfounded suspicions and insinuations, I am induced to believe that the good which will now result from its publication, by confirming the confidence and union of our fellow citizens, will more than countervail the ordinary objection to such publications. It is my wish therefore that it may be now published. TH: JEFFERSON.

March 22, 1808.

De Wit Clinton.—My noble and invaluable friend Mr. Cheetham, whose talents I certainly admire and respect, but whose political opinions are very much at variance with my own, has *japanned* over the right honorable Mayor of New York, with a varnish of the very first chop. Mr. Clinton is, in the opinion of Mr. Cheetham, *tout ensemble*, a perfect *bouquet* of perfections; so as not only to be calculated for a Vice President, but, *quo ad hoc*, the very best man after his venerable uncle, for a President of the United States! Mr. Clinton need not envy the gallant Greek his poetical biographer; for in Mr. Cheetham he has a clarion of excellence, who, though no match for Homer in verse, I can boldly affirm, in terse prose does not fall a whit behind the old Heathen as a eulogist. I speak in the spirit of sincerity when I say that Mr. Cheetham is one of the best public writers in this country: I only regret that he does not apply his talents more correctly.

I certainly have no wish to depreciate the abilities of Mr. De Wit Clinton. I acknowledge him to be a man with a strong mind: But I can no longer refrain from remarking, that I do believe that but for *him*, there would not at this moment be any difficulty with regard to Mr. Jefferson's successor. *I warn him to beware of a too hasty ambition; I conjure him to recollect the fate of Burr*, whose intemperate lust for power was the real cause of his ruin. Mr. Duane seems perfectly to understand him, when he proposes to make him vice president. But who would consent to such a thing? The practice of men's forcing themselves on the public by keeping up an outcry is too much *like carrying patriotism to market* to meet with encouragement from the people of this country. What! buy a man off? Indeed, no! If Mr. De Wit Clinton ever comes to either the Vice Presidency or Presidency, it must be by the spontaneous choice of the people; without any bargaining whatever. He is assuredly not the man for the nation at present, in either of those offices.

I had intended to say something concerning the blustering made in the "American Citizen" relative to Dr. Bullus; something touching a certain recommendation of that gentleman's predecessor; and a word or two about the curious speculations kept up in Mr. Cheetham's paper pending the present session of congress. But I have now not room enough. Effects ought, however, to be traced to their causes; and in proper time they shall be. Things are as well understood in Washington as at New York. I do not accuse the editor of the "American Citizen" with being under the *influence* of Mr. De Wit Clinton; but *he undoubtedly moves in that sphere*. A word to the wise.——

Published in F street—Price, $5 per annum, in advance.